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(Cheers.) We want to see fair play done to France. She did not provoke the war. (Cheers.) She was never less inclined to go to war, but she is the victim today of the war. We are entitled to demand that the nation which brought about all that devastation should do her utmost, should do her last best, to repair it. But, having done so, I still say there is an interest for France which is an interest not merely for Britain, but an interest for the world, and that is to get peace, and a settled peace. (Cheers.)

## GERMANY

BY ALEMBERT DECALLIVÉ

O Germany, why longer tread the wine-press all  
Alone and drink the dregs of bitterness,  
And eat the husks of hatreds and of woes?  
Just speak again as Goethe spoke, and Kant!  
Just speak the speech forgiveness teaches men,  
And stretch the suppliant hand to friend and foes.

The world is sick, and nations turn their eyes  
To you, and listen for the cooling word.  
With you the cure lies; you, O Germany!  
The healing of the ragged wounds of war  
Await the mystic self you were of yore—  
The music, brains, and native liberty!

## THE DIVIDED STATES OF EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

By THEODORE STANFIELD

FOR CENTURIES Europe has been at war or preparing for war. The normal condition of the United States is peace. Before the United States can enter with her into any association to establish and maintain enduring peace, Europe must so reorganize that its normal status is peace, not war.

Temporary peace in Europe is the immediate, urgent need of the hour. To attempt to create permanent peace before temporary peace has been established is absurd; to do both at the same time is impossible.

Our war associates are still discussing terms with Germany. As yet, the United States has agreed to nothing as regards war settlements, either with our late enemies or our war associates. After a firm and definitive treaty has been imposed upon Germany and her allies, after the United States has come to an understanding with her war associates respecting the disposition of the tangible results of the war—territorial, commercial, financial, political—then, and then only, can the United States and Europe address themselves with any hope of progress to the complicated problem of creating and maintaining peace the world over.

### The Three Steps

Thus there are three distinct steps: peace with Germany, agreements between the United States and her war associates, and, finally, enduring peace.

These differ utterly in their natures. For right settlement, these three problems must be considered separately and apart.

If the United States does not insist that they be dealt with in this way, and if the United States fails to adopt a general plan of procedure with respect to each one of the three questions, then the initiative in all these important matters will remain in European and Japanese hands. Moreover, the United States will continue to occupy the unfortunate position in which she has been since the armistice. She can deal only with those particular problems and situations which European and Japanese diplomats, for reasons of their own, see fit to create. In a word, the United States will remain in a negative instead of a positive and constructive attitude.

The immediate problem is that of consummating a definitive treaty with Germany. Manifestly, the purpose of such treaty must be to secure the objectives for which the United States and our associates fought. Necessarily, such treaty must be based on a clear and definite realization of these objectives. Moreover, these objectives obviously include not only our own future security, threatened by direct or indirect attack, but also the security of civilization against another attempt to dominate by force of arms. It must be conclusively demonstrated to Germany, her allies, and to every other nation which might be tempted to undertake a war of aggression, that such attempt is not only immoral, but disastrous; otherwise history's teaching indicates a similar attempt will be made again.

It is of importance to all our war associates and to ourselves that we jointly and harmoniously pursue the consummation and enforcement of a treaty with Germany, and that such treaty secure the common objectives for which we all were compelled to wage war.

The problem of a treaty with Germany solved, the United States can then address herself to the second—that of negotiating agreements with our war associates respecting the disposition of the spoils of the war. These spoils involve some of our vital interests. Should we permit European nations and Japan to monopolize economic rights and opportunities, the seeds of future wars would surely be sown.

After a treaty with Germany and her allies is being enforced by the co-operative purpose and action of the United States and her associates; after the United States and her associates have agreed among themselves as to the division of the spoils of the war, then, and then only, can the third problem, enduring peace, be approached.

### American Precedents and Models

The present period is a critical one in the history of the world. Should the constructive spirit and the political wisdom of the founding fathers of our country be brought to bear upon this problem of enduring peace, the result might be as propitious as was the outcome of their labors, and a long step forward in the progress of civilization might be taken. To the solution of the difficult problem of creating interstate conditions that preserve peace the founding fathers have contributed that unique and original organization for international relations which is embodied in the Constitution of the United States. It has been well said that the greatest